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Police and Administration in Kenya

By BARBARA CASTLE, M.P.

WITH the crushing of Mau Mau as an effective force in Kenya, the administration faces a new challenge: will it have the vision to learn the lessons of the last few years?

During my recent visit I was frequently assured by Europeans that the answer was 'Yes.' It is certainly true that some steps are being taken to meet the African's economic and social needs. But they will fail of their purpose unless they are part and parcel of a new willingness to let the African increasingly control his own life.

This is the key to the case of Kamau Gichina, and it is impossible to over-estimate its importance. For the emergency has left a bitter legacy; of suspicion not only between one tribe and another, between 'loyalists' and the terrorists within the same tribe, but also between loyalists and the administration. However much one can understand the panic which seized Europeans as the atrocious methods of Mau Mau were revealed, nothing can excuse the way in which they gave vent to it. Africans who recoiled from the barbarities of Mau Mau recoiled equally from the barbarities of the Security Forces in dealing with it. And although as a result of many protests the police force have been brought under better control, they have been established more than ever as an arm of the Government instead of as an impartial arbiter between the governed and the law.

The outbreak of the emergency set back developments which were gradually building up a police force along British lines. In 1943 an important reform was adopted under which the enforcement of law in the Reserves was gradually to be taken out of the hands of the tribal police

under the district officers and made the responsibility of the regular police under the Commissioner. Ten years later, the Kenya Police Commission, sent out to make recommendations for the future organisation of the force, reported that the change had worked well owing to the fact that the police posted into the Reserves had been carefully selected and had won the confidence of the local populations. But with the outbreak of Mau Mau, all this changed. Not only was there intensive—and indiscriminate—recruiting for the regular force, bringing it up from 6,000 to about 12,000 in strength, but it was swamped by the trebling of the Kenya Police Reserve to a total of over 8,000, more than half of whom were Europeans, settlers and sons of settlers, and by an influx of thousands of Africans into the Home Guard, under chiefs and headmen appointed by the administration. The inevitable result was sorrowfully reported by the Commission: 'The emergency,' it said, 'has had a very serious effect on the training and general outlook of the force.' New recruits received the barest instruction in police duties proper, being largely trained 'to act as squads of men operating in hostile surroundings where their first instinct is to use their rifles.' In such a situation the impartiality of the police completely broke down. The recruits to the Police Reserve were men with military rather than police training, who were going to stand no legal nonsense in stamping out Mau Mau, while the members of the Home Guard interpreted it as their duty to produce the maximum number of captures without being too scrupulous as to whether they got the right man.

It was this situation which so shocked Colonel Young, Commissioner of the City of London Police, when he was seconded to Kenya in 1954. He was sent because an All-Party Parliamentary Delegation of that year had expressed its alarm at the way in which the rule of law had collapsed. Colonel Young's first achievement was to put the training of the regular force back on to proper lines. Under his administration as Commissioner no askari was allowed on the beat until he had completed six months' training, not merely in how to use a rifle, but in the proper conduct of a police constable towards the citizens he was supposed to serve. In his scrupulousness about training Colonel Young was considered by most Europeans to be a crank, but in his insistence on bringing all offenders to justice, whether they were 'loyalists' or not, he was resented by European opinion as almost a traitor.

One Law for All

In this he came up, too, against the Administration, which shared to a considerable extent the view that there should be one law for terrorists and another for the Security Forces. Indeed, Mr. Lennox-Boyd gave something like Colonial Office blessing to this approach when in the House on February 16th last year he justified the amnesty for loyalists against whom prosecutions were pending, which formed part of the surrender offer of January 18th. 'How can we treat these people, who have thrown in their lot with us and with the future of Kenya, in precisely the same legalistic manner as we are obliged to treat with those who are convinced Mau Mau?' he asked. To a policeman like Colonel Young this attitude was incomprehensible. He found that hundreds of loyalists had taken to the woods because they were more afraid of the Security Forces than they were of Mau Mau; he found (as Justice Cram described in his judgment on the case of the headman Muriu) that members of the Home Guard were doing pretty much what they liked with their prisoners and were tyrannising over helpless 'suspects' in their areas. Above all, he found that the regular police felt themselves powerless to interfere; that they had so long regarded themselves as a branch of the Administration that they did not step in to see that those who were the servants of the Administration obeyed the law.

It was this which led Colonel Young to press for certain reforms, and when they were refused, to resign. What he asked for was the change in the whole status of the police which the Kenya Police Commission itself had regarded as necessary. Describing how in Kenya the police were merely one of the departments of Government, the

report declared, 'This situation is completely at variance with the conception of a police officer under the common law of England.' It argued that the Kenya Police Force could only win the confidence and co-operation of the law-abiding public, 'if it is recognised as being, not a direct agent of the Government, but an impartial organism exercising in its own right the function of preserving the peace and bringing offenders to justice.'

In reply, the Kenya Government argued that the provincial and district commissioners must be responsible for peace and good order in their areas by controlling the police and by exercising wide judicial functions as magistrates in their own Courts. The abuses which had caused such an outcry could, it argued, be checked by reorganising the Home Guard. This has now been done, but in a way which lessens rather than strengthens the independence of the police. Instead of being assimilated into the regular force under the Commissioner, 880 men from the Home Guard have been enrolled into the tribal police and some 7,000 into the tribal police reserve. These men are armed and paid by the Government, and are led by specially recruited European district officers who are part of the local administration, without police training or experience. There are still some 6,000 other ranks in the Kenya Police Reserve, most of whom have had only one month's basic training.

Abuses in the Villages

One of the Government's main weapons for tackling the emergency has been the system of 'closer administration' under which Africans in the Reserves have been rounded up into villages and in the towns have been grouped under chiefs who have acted as watch-dogs of the administration. As a result the institution of village life, potentially good in itself, has become associated in the African's mind with the determination to keep him under white control. The tribal police, operating from fortified posts in the Reserves under hundreds of European district officers, dominate village life, not always beneficially. In Nyeri district I was told by a Mission Sister that cases of venereal disease in her hospital had increased alarmingly because the tribal police in the village preyed on the women who had been separated from their husbands by the emergency. In Nairobi, I heard complaint after complaint that the chiefs and headmen had grown fat on bribes extorted from Africans whom they could threaten to denounce as 'suspects.' Yet the regular police are powerless to interfere. Though they have their stations in these areas the decision of the district

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SELF-RULE IN THE FAR EAST?

THE newly-elected governments of Singapore and the Federation of Malaya have moved swiftly in putting forward their demands for a revision of their existing constitutions. Mr. David Marshall, the Chief Minister of Singapore, was received with understanding by the Colonial Secretary and influential organisations during his visit to London in December. Agreement was reached on the agenda for the April conference when an all-party delegation will discuss a definition of self-government; a date for the introduction of internal self-government; the structure of the Legislative Assembly, including Marshall's request that the existing 25 elected seats should be doubled by April, 1957; the future of the public service and external relations and external defence. The two last subjects, defence and foreign affairs, Mr. Marshall is prepared to reserve to the United Kingdom, although he still hopes that Singapore can achieve Commonwealth status in spite of the reserved powers.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd agreed to recommend that the constitution should be amended to permit the use of Chinese, Tamil and Malay languages as well as English in the Assembly. It is hoped that once the nationalist request is conceded, the members may realise that commonsense and efficiency necessitate the adoption of one language. The civil service staff associations will now have the right to approach the Chief Minister about general conditions of service and public policy, though the Chief Secretary remains responsible for promotions and appointments. The control of the National Service men by the Council of Ministers has also been conceded and the increase of appointed Ministers from six to seven to lighten the burden of the Chief Minister and relieve him of the responsibility of Minister for Trade and Commerce.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd deferred any change in the present citizenship regulations as agreement had not been reached with the Malays. Mr. Marshall's plan would give automatic citizenship to some 220,000 China-born Chinese who have lived in Singapore for many years but have not sought naturalisation. Apart from the lack of agreement in Singapore itself, citizenship is a major question for the Federation, and if unity is to be achieved at a later stage between the two territories, it is advisable that agreement should be reached on this thorny problem.

The next round is taking place at the time of

writing with, the arrival of a delegation from Malaya, led by the Chief Minister, Tunghu Abdul Rahman, who is asking for an independent commission to work out a constitution for the Federation and a decision on the final status of the nine State Rulers; the abolition of the posts of British advisers to the Sultans; Malayanisation of the Civil Service and transfer of responsibility for finance and internal security to the elected Government. It is not clear at the moment whether control of internal security refers to the police, the Malay Regiment and the Federal Regiment, or whether it would also include the Commonwealth Forces.

The importance of the mission is highlighted by Chin Peng, the Malayan Communist leader, promising at the Baling conference to cease hostilities and disband his forces if the Tunghu is granted control of internal security. Chin Peng has accepted that the Chief Ministers are the elected representatives of their people and not British 'stooges.' It is believed that the Peking Government and the Malayan Communist leaders want to end the fighting, no doubt to promote increased infiltration in political parties and the trade unions. Both Ministers are rightly agreed that the Malayan Communist Party cannot be legalised immediately; democracy in the Federation and Singapore is of such recent growth. Succeeding British Governments since the war and the communist terrorists are to blame for Malaya and Singapore lagging behind the independent countries of South-east Asia. It has been accepted that the Malayan war cannot be won by the military alone; it is also 'a battle for the hearts and minds of the people.' Now is the opportunity to make up for lost time, and to strengthen the position of the elected representatives by meeting their just demands for self-government and a date for independence.

SUDAN INDEPENDENCE

THE Sudan has now attained her independence, and the British and Egyptian flags over the Governor-General's palace have been hauled down. There have been misgivings about the rapid procedures to achieve this end, and profound disappointment that the handsome contribution to the development of the Sudan in all fields by the British administrator and technician could not have been prolonged until the Sudanese were

better equipped and qualified for the immense responsibilities of their sovereignty. The condominium of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan has now been replaced by an independent republic and the Sudan's tricolour flag hoisted over Khartoum. The Sudanese Parliament joyfully acknowledges the fulfilment of their demand for independence, while the Prime Minister, remembering the unhappy part which Egypt has played, reminds the people that their celebrations are but the beginning of the task of maintaining independence and building their future progress.

The remarkable transformation over fifty years of the northern part of the country from anarchy and worse into the well-ordered conditions of today owes a tremendous amount to the enlightened spirit of those responsible for its administration. The change in status and the loss of many of the Sudan's best civil servants may bring a great deal of inexperience and political immaturity into public life and work, and some of their achievements may be jeopardised. But the gathering strength of nationalism cannot be gainsaid: in the end, the Sudanese Government rejected the Anglo-Egyptian decision to settle the problem of the Sudan's future status by a plebiscite under international supervision and proclaimed instead Sudanese independence. The foreign troops have gone and her Parliament has resolved that a committee of five Sudanese shall exercise sovereign powers until the Head of the Republic has been elected, that an elected Constituent Assembly shall be formed to draw up a final constitution and electoral laws for the forthcoming Parliament, and that the Southern members' demand regarding federal government for the three southern provinces shall be given full consideration by the Constituent Assembly. After protracted discussion and resistance, El Azhari, the Prime Minister, agreed to form a national government in which the opposition parties are well represented.

Egypt may still press for some sort of closer union, for she still wants the 1929 agreement on the division of the Nile waters revised so as to enable her to proceed with the High Dam project involving flooding 150 miles of Sudan territory up river and the resettlement of tens of thousands of Sudanese. Britain has proclaimed her continuing friendship, and will undoubtedly render what advice and practical assistance she is invited to give. The problem of the southern provinces remains.

This territory is not a natural region of the north, and it will not be easy for the Southern Sudanese to accept administration by the more developed north, nor can it be anticipated that the problems of administration and development of

the south will be fully appreciated by the north. This problem repeatedly occurs when nationalism achieves independence: it is present in Burma, in the Gold Coast and elsewhere. It has been suggested that Britain ought not to have yielded to Egypt and to have sacrificed so precipitously these southern provinces of the Sudan: they might have been separately safeguarded or linked to the Uganda Protectorate. Undoubtedly the northern tribes of Uganda are akin to those of the Southern Sudan, but some authorities point out that the latter are as far removed from the Baganda as they are from the northern Sudanese. Be that as it may, under the direction of the Sudan Government the work of reconciliation after the rebellion must go on, and it is to be hoped that the Constituent Assembly will find the means of satisfying the claims of the south for some form of federal government. In the Sudan republic we greet a new independent nation, and we shall follow its progress with sympathy and goodwill.

CARIBBEAN FEDERATION

WITH any luck, the conference on Caribbean Federation which is to be held in London this month should provide the climax to a long post-war discussion. The conference cannot hope to deal with all outstanding issues—their multiplicity has been emphasised by the recent publication of reports on the fiscal, civil service and judiciary aspects of federation—but possibly it will give the United Kingdom Government the signal to begin Parliamentary action authorising establishment of a federal administration.

The main debate at the conference may well be about the status to be given the Federation at the outset. Despite substantial constitutional advances since the war, the British Caribbean remains a colonial area and the salient political question is how much, or how little, 'colonialism' is to be injected into the federal constitution. Mr. Manley, Chief Minister of Jamaica, which is the largest territory participating, has already said that he wants the minimum of 'colonialism,' and he has announced a seven-point mandate on which his delegation will act at the conference. The points, taken together, amount to a severe criticism of the existing draft constitution which was produced at an earlier London conference.

Mr. Manley seeks the elimination of official members from the Federal Cabinet and reduction of the reserved powers of the Governor-General, who will be a Colonial Office appointee to begin with. The draft constitution gives members of the Federal Senate, an upper house comprised of

nominees of the Governor-General, several Cabinet seats by right. Mr. Manley would have the entry of senators into the Cabinet dependent on the wishes of the elected Federal Premier. He thinks it necessary also to reconsider the financial assistance which the United Kingdom Government has promised to give the Federation at the start.

Mr. Manley is the leading representative of progressive political thought in the Caribbean. This element argues that if the local communities accept the responsibility of Federation, they must be given full freedom of manoeuvre in adapting themselves to their new task, a freedom which should extend to the economic, through the political, field. There is an abiding suspicion in the region that its traditionally narrow economy has resulted from the traditional restrictions of colonial rule. The present draft constitution is not thought to permit the desired freedom of manoeuvre, and success at the coming conference may turn on the extent to which a further modification of colonial rule can be secured. Opposition to the Manley proposals would be in defence of the nominated and official members. These form the rearguard of 'colonialism,' and their continued presence in the draft constitution marks the degree of colonial rule proposed.

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officer prevails and it is inevitable that he should take the word of his 'loyalist' chief.

The emergency has greatly inflated the authority of the district officer which he is now reluctant to see reduced. To the African, therefore, the policeman has become the symbol of white domination. Yet, with proper status, training and selection the regular force could soon win the same confidence in its impartiality as the Criminal Investigation Department has done. One of Colonel Young's most important achievements while he was in Kenya was to establish the independence of this department, which is now recognised as answerable only to the Attorney General. Before he resigned, he placed one of his ablest men in charge of it, with instructions to build it up to the highest levels of efficiency. I saw for myself how well those instructions have been carried out, and learned how the African has come to trust the CID as an impartial instrument of the law. For eighteen months the CID has conducted a running fight with the administration, tracking down offenders often in the face of obstruction from local administrative officers. That is what happened in the case of Kamau Gichina, where three dis-

trict officers in the area were castigated by the magistrate at the inquest for having disregarded their responsibilities and having helped to cover up the brutalities by the local police it was their duty to prevent. Cases like this can always recur until the regular police has the same independent status in the enforcement of law and order as the CID has in the detection of crime.

The Kenya Government opposes this reform because it knows that once it surrenders control of the police, and makes it the servant of the African as much as the European, it will have set on foot a chain of reforms which will give the African a status he has never yet enjoyed. If equality before the law is truly established, where will it end? Will not the next step be to establish the mixed juries, for which Sir Barclay Nihill, former President of the Eastern Africa Court of Appeal, recently asked? And will not the African become increasingly restive about the magisterial powers of district officers, which were condemned by the resident magistrate who tried the Kamau Gichina case as a combination in one person of executive and judicial functions, contrary to British tradition? Will it not be the beginning of the end of the paternalism so dear to the heart of colonial administrators?

Yet the lesson of Mau Mau is that, if the Kenya Government does not wish to alienate all the loyalists, it must now entrust them with increasing freedom. Unfortunately, it shows no sign of having learned this lesson. While on paper it is prepared to concede rights of self-expression and of organisation to the African, in practice it places nothing but obstacles in their way. I found this to be true in the case of the trade unions, whose work is constantly hampered by the interference of the Special Branch, the political arm of the police. Now new storms are beating up over the form which African political organisation should take.

Last June the Government announced that it was prepared to allow Africans to form political associations again, but only on a district basis. African leaders have protested that this, in effect, means association on tribal rather than on political lines; a retrograde step in Kenya where the need is to move forward to a multi-racial society, not backwards to tribal separatism. Last December an attempt was made in Nairobi to form an African National Congress, but before its constitution could even be drawn up the Minister for African Affairs announced that he would refuse to register it. Africans see in this decision one more example of the Government's determination to control their lives, to deny them the freedom of effective expression which they now demand.

CAPRICORN AFRICA

WHEN a new movement arises in Africa, sponsored by a number of responsible people of all the three main races, it deserves serious attention. When, in addition, it equips itself with an elaborate organisation covering Kenya, Tanganyika and the Federation and announces an ambitious political programme developed after six years' thought and study, it invites careful and critical examination of its beliefs and proposals.

Such a movement is the Capricorn Africa Society. Born at Salisbury in 1949 out of a conviction that 'a policy for Africa must come from within Africa itself,' it has grown from a small group of Europeans, Africans and Asians to a movement numbering several thousand members. An elaborate chain of committees and councils in Africa is engaged on the dual task of propaganda and preparation of the 'Citizenship Document,' a basic 'code of human relations.' The term 'Capricorn Africa' is defined as all Africa lying between the Sahara and the Limpopo, though for the present its activities are confined to Kenya, Tanganyika and the Central African Federation. Since its foundation, the Society has published a series of declarations embodying its developing ideas and policy. The latest is the *Handbook*, which gives specific answers to numerous questions on details of policy. More recently *New Hope in Africa*, by Dr. J. H. Oldham, whose lifetime of work in the missionary field in Africa entitles his views to a respectful hearing, has elaborated and interpreted the Society's fundamental beliefs and purposes.

The Aims

The founders proceed from the beliefs that 'all men are born equal in dignity before God and have a common duty to one another'; that 'Capricorn Africa should become an association of territories wherein men of all races may live side by side in harmony, sufficiency and freedom'; that 'to strive towards such a goal will provide a sense of shared purpose and dedication transcending racial differences.' From these follow the aims: to encourage the development of the country jointly by all races; to uphold the moral, cultural and spiritual standards of civilisation and to help men of all races to attain these standards; to establish a conception of human relations that will bestow the full rights and privileges of voting citizenship on all those who have achieved the qualities necessary to sustain the responsibilities implicit in this status. The method by which it is hoped to achieve these aims is to work for the creation of a common citizenship 'in which members of all races would take a full part, in which only civilised and cultural values would be protected, and in which racial discrimination would be outlawed.' The establishment of a common 'African' patriotism and loyalty and political faith will 'remove the risk of race being at the root of political division'; ultimately,

it is believed, there will be so little colour consciousness that Europeans will regard it as natural to accept an African as Prime Minister.

The Society believes in a common roll, with qualifications for the franchise set at a high level, but with special exemptions for the non-European until 'his opportunity of acquiring the necessary educational and wealth qualifications is comparable to that of the European.' Africans living in the Reserves would be 'protected persons,' with communal representation. Subject to the statutory qualifications (which are being worked out by a number of local, multi-racial citizenship committees) there will be complete political equality as between the races; there will be no 'colour bar.' The Society approves the multiple vote, for citizens 'who have position of more than average responsibility.'

Citizenship Document

On land tenure, the Society believes that once its main objectives have been achieved 'all land will become an area of equal purchase opportunity for all citizens'; ultimately the new political faith and patriotism, with common economic interests, will supersede 'purely racial ties and allegiances,' and by common consent the White Highlands and (at a later date) Native Trust Land and Reserves will be thrown open to all races.

The welfare of all races demands the fullest economic development of natural resources. This needs immigration 'until the number of skilled and fully-trained Africans and the Europeans combined is sufficient to meet all requirements.' Any attempt to redress the balance of the races by large-scale European immigration would run counter to the Society's racial policy.

The Society condemns the Southern Rhodesian Liquor Laws; has no objection in principle to racial inter-marriage; and advocates the immediate abolition of the colour bar in hotels, restaurants and cinemas. In shops and post offices it would permit for the present continuance of separate counters (on the ground that Africans prefer to be served by someone who speaks their language) and similarly approves of separate swimming pools for the time being, on grounds of hygiene. Inter-racial education is advocated in principle, but cannot be fully implemented in the primary and secondary fields until standards both of pupils and teachers are more comparable to those of Europeans.

The Society with all its organs is working to a timetable. Forty local citizenship committees, multi-racial in composition, are working on drafts of the document, which will define the qualifications for the franchise; a citizenship loyalty code; the method of operating the proposed franchise system; and the rights and responsibilities of the citizen. The work of the committees will be co-ordinated and ratified early in 1956 by Regional Congresses; these will

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forward the results of their work, and appoint delegates to a Convention which will be summoned to meet at Mbeya in June or July, 1956.

The Mbeya Convention will formally endorse and dedicate the document, after which a new phase will begin. Capricorn Associations will be formed in each territory, whose task will be to set on foot political campaigns for the enactment of Citizenship Bills by the legislatures.

Capricorn Africa is a bold conception, founded on admirable principles, and its broad aims are unexceptionable. Its prospectus is nicely balanced to appeal to all three races, and to offer to each of them the hope of realising some part of its aspirations. The Society deserves great credit for putting in the forefront of its programme the outlawing of racial discrimination. Of the sincerity of the founders of the Society there can be no doubt. All the literature bears evidence of a profound conviction of the power of the moral element in politics, and of the reserves of goodwill latent in humanity—and, it must be said, of unbounded optimism in the promoters' capacity to unlock those reserves and use them to exorcise the forces of sectional interest. The belief that a spiritual conversion can so grip an entire community as to change their outlook on life and its problems is strongly reminiscent of that other contemporary movement—Moral Re-armament. The two have at least this in common, that they base themselves on the assumption that all conflicts of interest—political, racial or industrial—can be dissipated by a change of heart. It is legitimate to ask whether that is a sound assumption on which to base a political philosophy.

European Domination

In the earlier publications of the Society, the names of a number of prominent Africans in the different territories were quoted as supporters of the movement, but recently some at least of these have been reported as not being in sympathy with it. It seems, in fact, that most of the leaders of the more active African political movements are holding aloof from the Capricorn Society. And the reason becomes obvious when the programme is examined closely.

For all the excellent intentions of the founders, it is impossible to see how the proposed constitution would open the way to the transference of power from the European minority, or guarantee to Africans an adequate share in the political life of their respective countries. The qualification for the franchise is to be set deliberately at a high level—exactly how high a level, and how generous the 'special exemptions' for non-Europeans, we shall not know until the citizenship document has been completed and ratified. The multiple vote is likely to benefit Europeans more than the other races, particularly in Southern Rhodesia. Even in the citizenship committees and other organs of the Society, the European influence is likely to predominate in spite

of their multi-racial composition. Citizenship is not to be extended to Africans living in the reserves, who will be classed as 'protected persons' and will have representation on communal lines.

The Society would no doubt claim that, since race will no longer be the basis of political division, the precise balancing of racial representation will be immaterial. All the members, having accepted the new political faith, will pursue the common good without regard to the interests of their own community—indeed, they will forget that there are European, Asian and African communities. But in the present conditions in the plural societies separate communities exist, and conflicts of interest are bound to arise. Elected representatives are bound to have regard to the wishes of those of their own community—unless the franchise is so balanced that no one community has an overwhelming preponderance on the voters' roll.

Another feature which is bound to arouse doubts is the prominence given to the maintenance of 'the moral, cultural and spiritual standards of civilisation.' Half a century ago Cecil Rhodes preached the doctrine of 'equal rights for all civilised men'—but who decides what is a civilised man? The phrase has been used ever since to justify the Southern Rhodesia native policy.

Danger to African Nationalism

In the short term, however, it is the effect of the present campaign on existing African political movements that matters. If the Capricorn campaign is successful in gaining support among the leaders (and of this there is no sign), it will divert their attention from the pursuit of increased political power for Africans into channels which can only lead to frustration. If, on the other hand, the campaign fails, through suspicion of the motives of the promoters, it will worsen race relations.

This brief summary of the Capricorn Africa movement is intended merely to outline the main points of its policy, good and bad, and to draw attention to certain dangers likely to result from its campaign. No final judgment can be passed on it until the Mbeya Convention has ratified the basic citizenship provisions of the policy.

It may well be said that this criticism is purely destructive; is there any better way, it may be asked, of preventing the deterioration of race relations until orderly progress has achieved a political, industrial and social system acceptable to all?

Surely the slow stages of advance (noticeably accelerated since the Labour Government set the pace in 1945-51) regulated by the United Kingdom Parliament, offer the surest way for the African peoples to attain their goal of a mature and fully democratic society. Once this is attained, there will be no grounds for mutual distrust and suspicion.

CENTRAL AFRICAN PROBLEMS

A NYASALAND VIEW

Venture is pleased to print the following extracts from a Press statement made in London on January 4th by Mr. Manoh Chirwa, M.P. for Nyasaland in the Parliament of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Mr. Chirwa, who is a graduate teacher, had been taking a short course in political science at Oxford University. He had several personal interviews with Mr. Lennox-Boyd, the Colonial Secretary.

Mr. Chirwa states:

'The Central African Federation was imposed despite the solid opposition of the African people and caused a tremendous loss of faith in the British Government. To-day the Africans of Nyasaland are even more firmly opposed, and in fact desire to contract out of the Federation.

In the United Kingdom people have been given the impression that everything is going well in the Federation, but this is far from the case.

When the Federation was imposed, the British Government undertook that the Federation would foster partnership and co-operation between the various inhabitants. But far from doing this, and thus trying to regain lost African confidence, the Federal Government has ignored many opportunities for co-operation with the Africans, and has continued to pursue the discriminatory racial policy of Southern Rhodesia.

Widespread Discrimination

For example, the Federal Government has rejected motions which sought to end the policy of racial discrimination on the Rhodesia Railways, and in Southern Rhodesian Post Offices, and which sought equal opportunities for all races in the Civil Service, as they have in East African territories. It refused to accept Sir John Moffat's motion seeking investigation into the principles of a multi-racial community. It refused to employ Africans as shunters and conductors on the Rhodesia Railways, although for many years Africans have performed all tasks, including engine driving, on the Nyasaland Railways. Instead, the Government is recruiting white immigrants from Britain and the Continent for these jobs.

The Federal Prime Minister, Lord Malvern, stated quite blatantly in the Federal Parliament that the policy of partnership had been forced on him. He said: "Let us for the sake of Federation which was for economic advancement, not for the preamble which was forced upon us, have patience."

People in Britain should also understand that we Africans in Central Africa, whether we are chiefs, Members of Parliament, doctors, lawyers, teachers or any other person, when we visit Southern Rhodesia and the capital of the Federation, Salisbury, have to put up with constant frustrations and insults. For instance, African M.P.s have to travel about six miles for meals, while our European colleagues have their meals in any restaurant near the Federal Assembly.

We have to carry passes, even if it is a pass exempting us from carrying a pass. We have to use separate buses which are not allowed to drive into the centre of the town. On the Rhodesia Railways, even if we have first-class tickets, we cannot use the dining cars, nor the first- and second-class waiting rooms, which are for Europeans only. We have to use third or more often fourth-class waiting rooms. In the Post Office there we have to use separate entrances and counters.

What Have Africans Gained ?

I know that I may be accused of over-looking the positive things which it is said the Federation has achieved. What are these things? The two most frequently quoted are the establishment of the inter-racial university and the beginning of the breakdown of the colour bar on the Copper Belt.

With regard to the University, although the British taxpayers gave £1½ million on the understanding that it would be multi-racial, the Southern Rhodesian Government, under the Land Apportionment Amendment Act, has the right of veto on the entrance of any African students if they wish.

As far as the Copper Belt is concerned, the advances made there are almost entirely due to the Rhodesian Selection Trust, and particularly to Mr. R. L. Prain. While discussions about African advancement on the Copper Belt were going on in Northern Rhodesia, the Federal Government was refusing to consider giving equal opportunity to all races in the Civil Service.

It is claimed that Nyasaland will benefit from the Shire Valley Development Scheme. Africans would prefer this scheme to be carried out through Colonial Development and Welfare Funds and that they should be associated with it in all its stages. They had always been led to believe that it was intended to ease the acute land shortage for Africans in Nyasaland, but when the scheme was discussed in the Federal Parliament, a Southern Rhodesian member at once raised the question of white settlement in the Valley. This naturally causes Africans to have deep misgivings about the scheme. Africans in Nyasaland do not want European immigrants unless they have special skills to train Africans, and have not come to settle. It is an indisputable fact that the more the European immigrants, the less chance the Africans have of being trained for, and doing, more skilled jobs in the Federation, and the greater the friction and conflict between the races. Under the Federation, there is no longer an African member of the Immigration Board, as there formerly was for Nyasaland.

I must emphasise that the people of Nyasaland regard themselves as still enjoying the status of a British Protectorate. Under the Federal Constitution this status was guaranteed and carried with it certain rights and safeguards concerning land and political advancement—as specified in the preamble to the Federal Constitution, and in Section 33. Africans

will not tolerate a change in this status. They cannot be tempted to accept a form of citizenship of the Federation which will in effect undermine their status as a Protectorate of Britain. Nor is there any reason why granting the franchise should depend on changing their status. In Nigeria, for example, Africans who are Protected Persons have the right to vote.

As Nyasaland, like Uganda, is a black man's country, our demands now are that the Protectorate should be declared an African state, and should be allowed to develop on lines similar to Uganda towards democratic self-government within the Commonwealth.

A LONDON VIEW

The African people in Central Africa have not become reconciled to the Federal form of Government which was imposed on them several years ago by the British Government and the European communities. There is little evidence of the transformation into practical measures of the liberal ideas which the European leaders professed in their propaganda for the establishment of Federation. The Moffat resolutions of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council go unheeded and discrimination is even made against the dignity and self-respect of the African members of the Federal Parliament. The Europeans are in the political ascendancy and are determined to yield as little as possible to the gathering strength of African nationalism or organised opinion. Some small gain may have been made in industry in the Copper Belt, though the European Union remains almost as intransigent as before.

A disturbing note is struck by the Nyasaland Association, the European political party which is planning to fight in the forthcoming Nyasaland elections. The Association states squarely that its policy is 'to protect and foster the interests of Europeans' and that it favours the allocation of further land to Europeans and the transfer of European agriculture and police control to the Federal Government. This programme gives point to Mr. Chirwa's comments.

Two crucial issues in the Federation are citizenship and the franchise. At present, a citizen of South Africa or the United Kingdom can retain his home citizenship and also acquire citizenship in the Federation. An African is a citizen in Southern Rhodesia, but a protected person in Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland. He can acquire citizenship in Northern Rhodesia, if he pays a fee and complies with an educational qualification. But Africans cling to their protected status and cannot see why they should pay fees in order to be considered citizens in their own country.

The Federal Government is now considering both the problem of citizenship and the terms which should govern the franchise on a federal basis. At present the franchise remains as it was before Federation, but it was agreed that the Federal Government should enact a franchise law which would take effect before any subsequent general election. It is rumoured that because of the extreme difficulty of this assignment and the storm it will probably arouse unless the Europeans win their way, Lord Malvern,

the Prime Minister, has felt it wise to postpone his own retirement from the political scene until these questions of citizenship and franchise are settled.

It is possible that an attempt might be made to establish some form of common citizenship throughout the Federation which would require a surrender by the Europeans, on their becoming Central Africa citizens, of their original citizenship. South Africans in the Federation would strongly object to this, but on the other hand, it is difficult to justify different kinds of citizenship within the Federation or that voters should have rights in more than one country and divide their loyalties accordingly. It is also probable that there will be a sharp diversity of view on the question of common African citizenship, for, in a Federal state, the diminution of special protectorate status to prevent the franchise of Africans cannot any longer be logically justified, although it is imperative that the two Protectorates and the British Government should resist any further diminution of the present protected status of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The alterations which undoubtedly will take place will enlarge the franchise and Europeans will fear that the voting roll may find Africans in too great numerical strength and regard this as a menace to their own political domination. It is already being said that the franchise qualifications of Southern Rhodesia, although raised only a few years ago, are too low and out of date.

Such are the problems in the Federation now coming to a head. Consultations are taking place with the British Government and probably a new franchise law will be enacted in July or August. What is done now will have a vital effect on African political advance for a long time to come. It is important that we should make our position clear to the Government. If there is to be political progress it should be in the direction of political democracy, and in any case we must insist that justice is secured for Africans as enfranchised citizens. There should also be more adequate African representation.

While one may not consider it practical politics at this stage for Nyasaland to contract out of the Federation, there is force in Mr. Chirwa's complaint that Africans do not have parity in the legislature, nor membership of the Executive Council. Unless such complaints in the northern territories receive attention, frustration is bound to increase and partnership will remain unrealised.

Margaret Wrong Memorial Fund

The Margaret Wrong Medal is offered in 1956 for a published work of outstanding literary merit in an African language by an African whose home is in Central Africa.

A money prize of up to £20 is offered for a piece of original literary work by an African whose home is in any part of Africa south of the Sahara.

Competition regulations are available from the Margaret Wrong Memorial Fund, Edinburgh House, 2, Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

4 0 5

Questions in Parliament

Secondary Education in N. Rhodesia. Mr. Creech Jones asked what expenditure was being incurred on secondary education for Africans; what expansion was contemplated in the years ahead; and what proportion of the revenue was being spent on all the educational services for non-Europeans and for Europeans. Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied that the recurrent expenditure on African secondary education, 1955-56, was estimated at £69,650. The N. Rhodesian Government hoped that it would soon be possible for some existing single-stream secondary schools to be expanded next year by the introduction of second streams; in addition, if funds could be made available, work should start on one new local authority junior secondary school and two or three voluntary agency junior secondary schools. Secondary school enrolment would be further increased by the increase, as a temporary measure, of the maximum size of junior secondary school classes from 30 to 35. The estimated recurrent expenditure for all African education services in 1955-56 was about £1,395,000; that is 10 per cent. of estimated total revenue. The additional expenditure on African education from capital funds was estimated at £416,000, excluding expenditure for staff housing, which was included in a block vote. Non-African education including that of Europeans, Asians and Coloureds was the responsibility of the Federal Government. (Dec. 5.)

Non-African Electoral Roll in Nyasaland. In answer to Mr. Brockway, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that the total number of voters on the non-African electoral roll for the Legislative Council was 2,210 of whom 1,886 were Europeans, 338 Asians, and six coloured persons. (Dec. 5.)

Constitutional Issues in the Gold Coast. In reply to Mr. Hector Hughes, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that at the request of the Gold Coast Government he had arranged for Sir Frederick Bourne to act as adviser to that Government and those parties concerned who wished to avail themselves of his services, on the constitutional issues which divided the Gold Coast. He regretted that the leaders of the National Liberation Movement and of the Asanteman Council had refused to meet Sir Frederick. He had had some sympathy with their position in the past; they had a relatively small representation in the present Legislature, and it had been only natural that they should have hoped by a general election or some form of constituent assembly that they might have assured to themselves a larger say in the constitutional issues. But, as they should have known from previous public statements, Her Majesty's Government would wish to be satisfied, before full self-government could be granted to the Gold Coast, that the constitution would be generally acceptable throughout the country. Whatever the exact result of a general election or however a constituent assembly were composed, it seemed clear that there would still remain a substantial body of opinion behind each of the opposed views of the

C.P.P. and the N.L.M. It might well be no easier then than now to reach agreement on a constitution acceptable to all. Accordingly, in his view, and he was sure that the House would support him, the wisest course, and the one most likely to lead speedily to the conclusion that all desired, was that the Ashanti leaders should co-operate with Sir Frederick Bourne, whose whole objective was to help the people of the Gold Coast to work out a generally acceptable plan. (Dec. 7.)

Racial Discrimination in Kenya. In reply to Mr. Freeman, Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that the policy of Her Majesty's Government was one of progressive removal of restrictions based on race, as and when practicable. It had to be borne in mind that some of the existing residential restrictions derived from restrictive covenants on leases, and that present arrangements for giving special assistance and protection to African town-dwellers were based on the existence of African locations. The Kenya Government were preparing legislation which was designed to remove the discrimination against Africans in the purchase and consumption of spirituous liquor. (Nov. 23.)

Penal Sanctions Convention. Mr. Ronald Williams asked the Colonial Secretary to indicate the steps which the Government was taking to implement the Penal Sanctions (Indigenous Workers) Convention of 1939; the extent to which penal sanctions for breach of contract had been abolished since November, 1953; the territories in which they were still applied; and the penalties which were imposed. Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied that Her Majesty's Government obtained reports annually from the Governments which still retained penal sanctions, and were satisfied that they had gone as far and as fast in abolishing them as local conditions permitted. Since November, 1953, legislation had been passed in a number of territories which repealed provisions which were in practice already in abeyance. In Kenya and Tanganyika, Bills were before the Legislatures which would bring the law into conformity with the Convention. Penal sanctions were still applied in British Honduras, Northern Rhodesia, and Swaziland and also in Southern Rhodesia. The penalties which could be imposed were fines or imprisonment. (Nov. 30.)

State Scholarships in Malaya. Mr. Sorensen asked what were the bye-laws governing the grant of State scholarships; and what proportion of these were granted to the Malay aristocracy. Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied that awards were governed by State legislation or regulations. Awards were granted on qualifications and merit, and he was assured that there was no reason to suppose that preference was given to any particular class. Family circumstances were usually investigated so that, other things being equal, awards might be made to candidates who would otherwise be unable to afford higher education. (Nov. 23.)

Guide to Books . . .

Minority Problems in South East Asia

By Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff. (London: Cumberlege. 32s.)

THE Institute of Pacific Relations has again made a major contribution to our knowledge of Asian affairs by sponsoring a study of indigenous and alien minorities in the countries of South-east Asia, which breaks fresh ground.

The geographical position of Burma, Malaya, Indonesia and Indo-China at the crossroads between India and China and their development by Britain, France and Holland have created large size minority groups. So long as the metropolitan power, as the ruling minority, dominates the territory, the problem is comparatively easy, but when the indigenous nationalists take over or conditions are created leading to self-government, there is open conflict of interests between the various ethnic groups. To the political and economic rivalry is added the divergence of religion and custom.

Of specific importance is the pioneer study of the Thai of Tonkin, who are ethnically and culturally linked with the Laotians, the Thai of Thailand and Yunnan and the Shans of Burma. Some half-million live in an inaccessible and mountainous territory occupying a key-strategic area bordering on Yunnan. The Peking Government, in 1951, took over the plan of a Greater Thai state previously cherished by Thailand, and in January, 1953, announced the birth of a Thai Nationality Autonomous People's Government. After the fall of Dien Bien Phu in May, 1954, the Viet Minh captured the Thai area and thereby forged the first link in uniting two groups of Thai. Thailand, alarmed at Peking's move, has energetically sponsored a proposal to form a Buddhist bloc to include Laos and Cambodia with the hope that an acceptable basis can be found which would appeal to the two other Buddhist countries, Burma and Ceylon.

Another pioneer study by the authors concerns the Eurasian problem, a direct result of European domination. In all the territories they are small communities, identifying themselves with the Europeans in religion and their way of living, but not accepted by them and resented by the indigenous people for economic reasons. They have no future in the countries which have attained independence unless they throw in their lot with the nationalist governments. In Indonesia, where they were allowed to opt for Indonesian citizenship, about 89 per cent. of the 100,000 chose to retain their Dutch citizenship. A plan to create a 'homeland' in New Guinea, on the lines of Israel, failed because the Eurasians were mostly white-collared workers without the training, stamina or funds to colonise New Guinea. In Malaya, they have shown no capacity for organisation and have kept themselves apart from the Asian races,

refusing to recognise the plight that has overtaken their fellow Eurasians in the independent states.

The account of the Chinese is of interest but adds little to the thorough studies that have already been published by Dr. Victor Purcell and Mr. Bruno Lasker, but the detailed account of the position of the Indians breaks new ground and is particularly interesting on the activities of the Azad Hind movement during the war. Whereas before the war the Indians in Malaya had little political interest, being mostly immigrant estate workers, S. C. Bose stirred them into a belief that they were 'playing a dramatic role in the history of their motherland.' After the war they formed the Malayan Indian Congress. They were told firmly by Nehru that they must choose between being nationals of India or Malaya, that they could not claim the privileges of Malayan citizenship and Indian citizenship. They form the bulk of the Trade Union membership under the leadership of the able Indian president of the Malayan Trades Union Council, P. P. Narayan. So far only a small section of the Indian community has decided to make Malaya its permanent home. Under the restricted immigration laws, the Indian minority is likely to dwindle, and presents no major problem that cannot be settled amicably between India and Malaya.

In a brief review there is no space to mention the studies of the Malays of Thailand, the Ambonese and the Christian minorities. This book is invaluable for those readers who need to fill in their broad outline of the political changes that have taken place in South-east Asia since the war with a knowledge of the internal problems created so largely by Western rule. It is a fascinating study, and we in this country, who are still responsible for colonies in South-east Asia, owe the authors a great debt of gratitude for the impartial, historical and sensitive account of problems that must be faced.

Hilda Selwyn-Clarke.

The Isle of Cloves

By F. D. Ommaney. (Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 18s.)

I met Dr. Ommaney in the Seychelles in 1948. With Dr. Wheeler, he was investigating the various types of fish that swarm in the Indian Ocean and the plant life that supports them. I did not then know that he was a writer of distinction, later I read 'The Shoals of Capricorn.' I enormously appreciated his style of writing, his shrewd and tolerant judgment, and I realised how much I had missed of Seychellois life, which he had observed so faithfully.

Now we have *The Isle of Cloves* as a result of his

having been posted to Zanzibar to improve local methods of fishing. Here are the geography and history of a little known Protectorate, a searing account of the slave traffic and the long struggle to bring it to an end. The legal status of slavery was abolished in 1907 and claims for compensation ended in December, 1911. His domestic problems are detailed with a lively and kindly humour, the description of Public Works Department furniture will evoke a reminiscent smile from all who have suffered it; in a more serious vein the chapter on 'Strife' outlines so well 'the frustration, defeat and distrust' of those in executive and administrative positions in the Colonies, responsible for maintaining law and order.

Zanzibar is in the news; there is to be a new constitution which is criticised by the Arab Association as it does not provide for elections and a common roll. How far they have the support of the Indians and Africans is not known. Dr. Ommaney's book is a delight in itself, it also has much value for all of us who are concerned to understand the peoples of the colonies as human beings and their need for advancement.

Fabian.

Malta to Westminster

A Labour Party Pamphlet. 6d.

The Parliamentary debate on the Round Table Conference on Malta has not yet been held, nor has the Maltese referendum on the same issue. Nevertheless, this proposal to incorporate Malta into the British community and allow the Maltese to elect three members of Parliament to Westminster has caught the imagination of all students of the colonies.

This little Labour Party pamphlet sets out the background of the decision, describes the triumph of Dom Mintoff, and points to the exciting future which the proposals may portend.

Saben's Commercial Directory and Handbook of Uganda, 1955-56, published by Saben and Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 650, Kampala, is a useful comprehensive publication. It includes sections on country and towns, agriculture and industry and a company register and classified trades supplement. Price 30s.

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Correspondence

To the Editor of VENTURE.

Sir,—I note from *Venture* that there is very little said about Fiji. Africa and the West Indies appear to hold the stage.

The alien East Indians are rapidly getting control of the Colony and now out-number the Fijians by some 20,000, and as they are increasing at the rate of 3.7 per cent per annum against the Fijians 2.57, in 50 years' time there will be about 850,000 Indians to 450,000 Fijians, and the promises made by Queen Victoria to protect the Fijians will not be honoured. As the Indians are avid for political power and make no secret of their intention to control the country racially, economically and politically, they are agitating for a change in the constitution with an eye on self-government in the not too distant future.

In the long years since cession, the Fijians have proved their loyalty to the Queen and Empire; their conduct has been exemplary, consequently it is difficult for any fair-minded man to condone the disregard of the Imperial Government of the vital interests of the Fijians in the preservation of their territorial integrity and racial predominance. Their interests are increasingly endangered by the alien elements which have been introduced by Government, not for the benefit of the Fijians but for the commercial development of the Colony.

The lack of leadership on the part of the Administration, prominent Europeans and Fijians, has resulted in the disastrous failure of the people to develop the individuality and strength of mind necessary to meet the mounting forces with which they have to contend.

Amie Ragg.

BARBARA CASTLE ON KENYA

The Fabian Colonial Bureau and Central London Fabian Society will hold a joint meeting at the College of Preceptors, 2, Bloomsbury Square, W.C.1, at 7.30 p.m., on Wednesday, February 8th, when Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P., will speak on 'Next Steps in Kenya.'

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11 Dartmouth Street, London, SW1

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Further details of membership from the Secretary